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ABSTRACT

Major trends in the development of adult education in Croatia can be considered in four periods: (1) from the time that Croatia was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire; (2) the period between the two World Wars when Croatia was part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia; (3) the post-World-War-II period when Croatia was part of the Yugoslav socialist economy; and (4) from 1990, the period of independence and development of a state governed by democratic rule. This paper traces the development of adult education through these periods. Despite the fact that andragogic practice and theory in Croatia evolved under unfavorable conditions, analyses of adult education development in Croatia point to a series of achievements in the sphere of adult education and the development of andragogic ideas that form a solid basis for further development. Future development of adult education in Croatia will be similar to that of other countries in transition (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Slovenia, and Lithuania). These include the problems of education for democracy, retraining, additional education for the market economy, and for the other forms of adult education that are meant to improve the transition processes of society. (Contains 14 references.) (BT)

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Ilija Lavrnja and Anita Klapan

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Anthony Cooke
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The Rise and Fall of Adult Education Institutions and Social Movements

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on the History of Adult Education

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The Development of Adult Education in Croatia, 1820 to 1990

Ilija Lavrnja and Anita Klapan

Introduction

The major trends in the development of adult education in Croatia can be considered in four periods - from when Croatia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; the period between the two World Wars when Croatia was part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia; the post World War II period when Croatia was part of the Yugoslav socialist community; and finally from 1990, the period of independence and the development of a state governed by democratic rule. During that turbulent period, adult education and andragogic thought went through the same contradictions as the country was going through in its economic, cultural and other developments. In spite of the fact that andragogic practice and theory in Croatia evolved under unfavourable conditions, analyses of adult education development in Croatia point to a series of achievements in the sphere of adult education and the development of anadragogic ideas that form a solid basis for further development.[1]

The nineteenth century

In the nineteenth century Croatia was still economically backward, politically weak and divided into the bans[2] of Croatia with Slavonia, the Vojna and Dalmatia. Two alien governments wielded their authority and there was an exceptionally strong tendency towards Hungarianisation and Germanisation.[3]

The national-revolutionary civil movements in Europe had an impact on the citizens of Croatia and there was a reaction against the economic and political domination of Hungarian feudal lords and Viennese reactionaries and in general against the social system of feudalism which hindered the economic and cultural growth of the Croatian regions.[4]

The leading role in the national movement of this period was played by the bourgeois which was particularly keen on economic and political change. Hence the appearance of the Illyrian Movement in the 1830s. The Illyrian Movement opened a new and significant chapter in Croatia's history; the beginnings of a national culture in all of its forms.

The education of adults was also inspired by the Illyrian Movement and some significant achievements were made.[5] There was the development of numerous cultural and educational establishments, reading rooms, book and magazine pub-

lishers, collections of poetic works and folklore. All of this, of course, is a contribution to the cultural and national enlightenment of the masses.

Despite the socio-political oscillations during the period 1820 to 1870, significant events occurred in the educational and cultural life of Croatia. Alongside national schools, which were the most important institutions for enlightening the people, many establishments for the education of adults were also opened.

This period is considered as the beginning of organised educational work with adults which, despite the discontinuity in development, represents an important chapter in the history of adult education in Croatia.

The basic institutional forms which arose during that period were: the cultural literary society Matica Ilirska (Hrvatska); national reading rooms and libraries; schools; and educational societies. Each of these institutions contributed to adult education.

Through its prolific publishing and cultural activities the Matica Hrvatska (Ilirska) carried out a broad educational-andragogic role. These activities led to the enlightenment and cultural development of the masses. The work of national reading rooms and libraries was of exceptional importance in the sphere of adult education. The first reading rooms to open were in Vara din (1836), Karlovac and Zagreb (1838), Petrinje (1845) and Rijeka (1850).

Schools and instruction courses as institutional forms of educational work with adults were of less importance than reading rooms during this period. This is understandable since schools for children were not common and employed low-ranking teaching personnel. Even so, schools as institutions for adult education appeared relatively early. These were chiefly schools and instruction courses for the education of the young agricultural workers (various professional training courses for village youths between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five years). During this period a new kind of school was established - the Sunday schools which represented an extension of schooling and a step towards the systematic education of adults, because they organised tutorials for illiterate youths. The first Sunday school in Croatia was opened in Zagreb in 1846, initially for boys over the age of twelve, and from 1854 for girls as well.

In the period from 1870 to 1900, work in the sphere of adult education intensified under the impact of the workers' movement. Two problems came to the fore: the education of farmers and the education of women. In Croatia the work that had begun in the schooling of agricultural workers in villages and towns was continued, but there was also the development of schools for young men and women. In most towns (Osijek, Gospoæ, Vokovar) during the mid-eighties, various courses developed such as basket-making, weaving, wood carving, farming, schools for feminine handicrafts, and a school for household tasks. They had the function of extended instructions and also adult education.[6] This period also saw the continuing development of national reading rooms, libraries and other socie-

ties for work with adults (from 1870 to 1898 about a hundred national reading rooms were opened in Croatia).

The twentieth century

Andragogic activities were more intensive during the period from 1900 to 1919 but they evolved outside the characteristic workers' movement. These activities took place in schools, adult education centres, national libraries and reading rooms, and cultural societies. There were four types of schools and courses for youths and adults: agricultural schools and courses; housekeeping schools and courses; courses for analphabetics and extended and general-education night schools. These schools were seen as rural centres of material and spiritual culture.[7]

A dynamic and influential system of adult education and andragogic thought developed between the Wars, despite the large number of illiterates in the population, or precisely because of those circumstances. A major factor was the engagement of prominent educators who were aware of the state's inadequate care in overcoming and preventing cultural backwardness and isolation and expressed their protest and stated their critical opinions in popular-scientific, professional and scholarly works and at public gatherings. Despite unsatisfactory state support for adult education, individual initiative and the determination of associations and organisations and public pressure contributed much to education development.

A special role in working with adults was played by 'institutions and courses for national enlightenment', such as: the three-month to six-month housekeeping courses, the cooperative-economy course of two to three months' duration, and the four-month courses for analphabetics mainly organised within the existing elementary schools.

A prominent position among the establishments for adult education belongs to the adult education centres which were established even before Croatia joined the Yugoslav community. They were mainly set up in university centres and smaller towns. Adult education centres played an important role in the education of adults, but they were also centres for scientific studies, publishing and cultural activities. Thus a Folk Education Centre Centre was founded in 1907 within the framework of the Health Institution of Zagreb (permission was given by Vienna several years later, in 1911), and an Adult Education Centre in Karlovac in 1910 and in Vara din in 1922. These adult education centres were established on the model of the higher schools of adult education in Germany and Austria, although they were influenced by Czech and English (university extension) practice. The widest range of activities took place in the Folk Education Centre in Zagreb which acted as a university extension centre with a rich and diverse program. Besides separate lectures it carried out: seminars, courses, visits to cultural, artistic

and scientific institutions, systematic activity in developing secondary school extension, correspondence education and lectures in many parts of Croatia.[8]

A significant role in adult education during the interwar period was played by cultural (andragogical) societies and organisations. Particularly noteworthy were 'Seljaèka sloga' and 'Seljaèka kolo', 'Kulturno društvo Napredak' and 'Hrvatsko-pedagogijski knji evni zbor (HPKZ)'. These societies and organisations were very active in teaching illiterate adults to read and write, and opened national libraries and reading rooms, held lectures, published, and organised shows and popular cultural social gatherings. Various departments (education, agriculture, health, legal) within the framework of these organisations, dealt with the specific problems of adult education.

'Seljaèka sloga', from its foundation in 1920, was a part of the Croatian peasants' movement. Through its numerous branch offices it was active in the areas just mentioned. The activities of 'Seljaèka sloga' were prohibited when the state was under dictatorial rule, but in 1935 the association's activity was resumed. This organisation placed special emphasis on the revival of the inactive national libraries and reading rooms. From 1935 to 1940, thanks to 'Seljaèka sloga' and 'Seljaèka kolo', almost 400 national libraries and 89 education centres in Croatia were reopened and significant andragogic and educative activities took place within them.[9]

Between the Wars andragogic thought developed along existing practice. It was influenced by the pedagogic and andragogic ideology of European movements and bourgeois pedagogy. Croatian scholars and experts (Bazala, Matièeviæ, Turiæ, Vuk-Pavloviæ, Ljubunèiæ, Pataki and others) were guests of the cultural centres of Europe. They followed European theoretical and pedogogical and andragogical literature. This resulted in the beginnings of discussion on the methodology and epistemology of andragogic theories such as: the objectives of adult education, sociological and psychological aspects of adult education, the problem of methodology in adult education, concepts of adult education and problems of method, technique and strategy.[10]

Personality development and the education of adults during the period 1941 to 1945 was a part of the liberation struggle against Germany and her allies. In one aspect it had a political emphasis and was aimed at upgrading the political-theoretical and cultural knowledge of the masses against fascism and nazism.[11]

Courses for analphabets were organised, as well as oral communication of news, lectures, performance art manifestations, health care courses, general-education course, etc. Institutional forms during this period included adult education centres, cultural centres, national libraries and reading rooms.

1945 to date

After the Second World War, Croatia became one of the six republics of socialist Yugoslavia. Adult education in Yugoslavia developed outside the official system of education. As the system of education in the country was confined to the school system, the schooling of adults was a part of that system. During the 1940s and 1950s, the entire country was under the influence of the Soviet regime. Political-theoretical education predominated with corresponding public lectures, political training courses and political schools. Campaigns against illiteracy and the courses for analphabets were characteristic of this period. Formal general education and shortened vocational training through night schools were encouraged. As the Titoist forces resisted Stalinism and the regime began to loosen its authoritarian grip, the Soviet model was gradually abandoned (even though democracy was not established) and the establishment of connections with countries in the West led to a reorientation in adult education. A further contribution to this process came as the result of the first visits of professionals to other countries, as well as the work of foreign experts visiting Croatia, and the accessibility of foreign literature on andragogy, etc. From the mid-fifties to the mid-sixties there was a more substantial development of adult education in Croatia, both formal and informal, which matched that of other parts of Europe.

The political, economic and cultural connections with countries with democratic political systems, the commitment towards a market economy, the free circulation of people (employment abroad, travel abroad) and exchange of ideas and commodities, favoured such a development.[12]

Study-as-you-work schemes and recurrent education, part-time studies and specialised training were organised. Specialised institutions of higher learning also grew up - the two-year school of administration and business for adults. The union of adult education centres in Croatia was the focus of andragogic activities, and it functioned to enhance the practice of adult education and the development of andragogic theory. The union of adult education centres also published 'Andragogija', the only such specialised magazine in Yugoslavia and initiated the printing of a collection of books entitled 'Adult Education' under which some 50 titles were published. Furthermore, the union initiated the School for Personnel in Andragogy (for training and advanced training of teachers and organisers of adult education) in which 12,476 students and 487 lecturers participated from 1962 to 1983. This school operated as a summer school (in Poreè) and a winter school through seminars, courses, conferences, colloquiums and international discussions. Over 180 participants from many countries took part in these international discussions and there were visits by study groups from countries including Canada, Germany Czechoslovakia, and Poland. These activities were wholly undertaken by the Centre for Andragogy in Zagreb, while the union coordinated the activities of adult education centres. The Centre for Andragogy also organised the

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groups of adult education groups with other countries and the
lar groups from those countries to Croatia. In the Summer
nel in andragogy (1966), the Society of Andragogs of Croatia
which brought together specialists and experts in the science of
he Centre for Andragogy, which relied on numerous andragogs
as part-time associates, also organised consultative activities
development of andragogic practice and theory was enhanced
luction of the study of andragogy on a university level of study.
the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, within the framework of
y began an elective university course in andragogy. In 1961 the
ogy was enrolled by students from all the study groups of the
of Pedagogy (later to become the Teacher Training College) in
dies began to develop work in scientific research.[13]

the beginning of a major social and economic reform in Yugo-
a. The intention was to introduce a market economy, to make
r countries with market economies, and to enable more inde-
es. This reform met with resistance from those who were inter-
ing the *status quo*. Unemployment increased along with eco-
. The reform was abandoned in 1968, and the pretext for this
demonstrations. This marked the beginning of the slowdown of
evelopment. This slowdown was also connected to growing so-
roatia a mass movement began to form, particularly among the
demands for greater independence and national identity, and
sm and centralism and Serbian domination. Political reprisals
early 1970s, the persecution of national and liberal minded
novement, of cultural workers, and of managers. Unemployment
hundreds of thousands left the country. Whereas the slowdown
n had begun a few years earlier, now there were signs of its
hough the existing activities were maintained through sheer iner-
ances were in sociopolitical education with increasing indoctri-
n the correspondence education of workers employed abroad. A
cation system took place in the middle of the decade but it soon
ults. It had serious consequences in adult education which had
. The formal education of young people was brought down to a
hool activity for youngsters and was in decline. Informal adult
ted, there was a lack of innovation, and a decrease in the range
m the 1980s until 1990 the social crisis gradually deepened; the
unable to stop the social and economic decline. Support was
us quo in spite of the fact that society was experiencing a deep
conomic, moral and cultural. A crisis in the practice of formal
lt education was also readily observed. The only growth area
oreign languages and mastering computer technologies.[14]

In 1990 radical changes in the social and political system took place in Croatia. After the proclamation of independence, war ensued and with it all the misfortunes that war brings. Adult education was subordinated into the background yet even so, the mishaps and problems of war shifted the activities of adult education to other areas such as military needs, foreign language studies, requalifications, the education of veterans of the war, education work with refugees and displaced persons.

Since the early 1980s adult education in Croatia has been considerably reduced. During the period since 1989 the situation, due to the circumstances of war and decreased national income, has not improved. In those parts of the country where there was no warfare, the interest in studying foreign languages has been maintained. The first private schools for foreign languages were opened in addition to existing schools, as well as private institutions for adult vocational education. After several years during which there was almost no development, there is now a growth of interest in adult education. There has been no slackening of interest in the programs of information science and both the young and the old attend courses for learning computer languages and computer technologies. Recently, the faculties and chambers of commerce have begun business schools for managers which mainly operate in accordance with programs from other countries and with visiting specialists from abroad. There has been enhanced interest in the further education of teachers through shorter seminars, consultations and schools of pedagogy, with the application of techniques of brainstorming, role playing and workshops. These activities are very limited due to meager resources allocated for education and science.

It is certain that the future development of adult education in Croatia will be similar to the other countries in transition (the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Slovenia and Lithuania) with the problems of education for democracy and retraining and additional education for the market economy and for the other forms of adult education that will improve the transition processes of society.

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